Africa Center for Strategic Studies
Centre d'études stratégiques de l'Afrique
Centro de Estudos Estratégicos de África

Keynote Address:

21st Century Marines in Africa

Raymond Gilpin, Ph.D.
Academic Chair, Defense Economics

Gen. Gray Research Center, Quantico, VA **18 January 2006**

About the Africa Center

Africa Center Overview

- **Founded in 1999**
- **One of Five DoD Regional Centers**
- **Located at Fort McNair, SW Washington DC**
- **visit www.AfricaCenter.org**

Mission and Objectives

One Core Mission

“ . . . to foster regional cooperation on security issues through the education of foreign military, civilian, and non-government officials.”

Three Main Objectives

Educate on the role of security in civil societies

Harmonize views on common security challenges

Counter ideological support for terrorism

Academic Focus

Five Broad Areas:

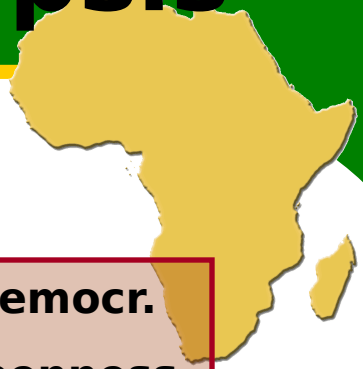
- **Security Studies**
- **Civil-Military Relations**
- **Terrorism and Counter-terrorism**
- **Defense Economics**
- **Conflict Prevention and Management**

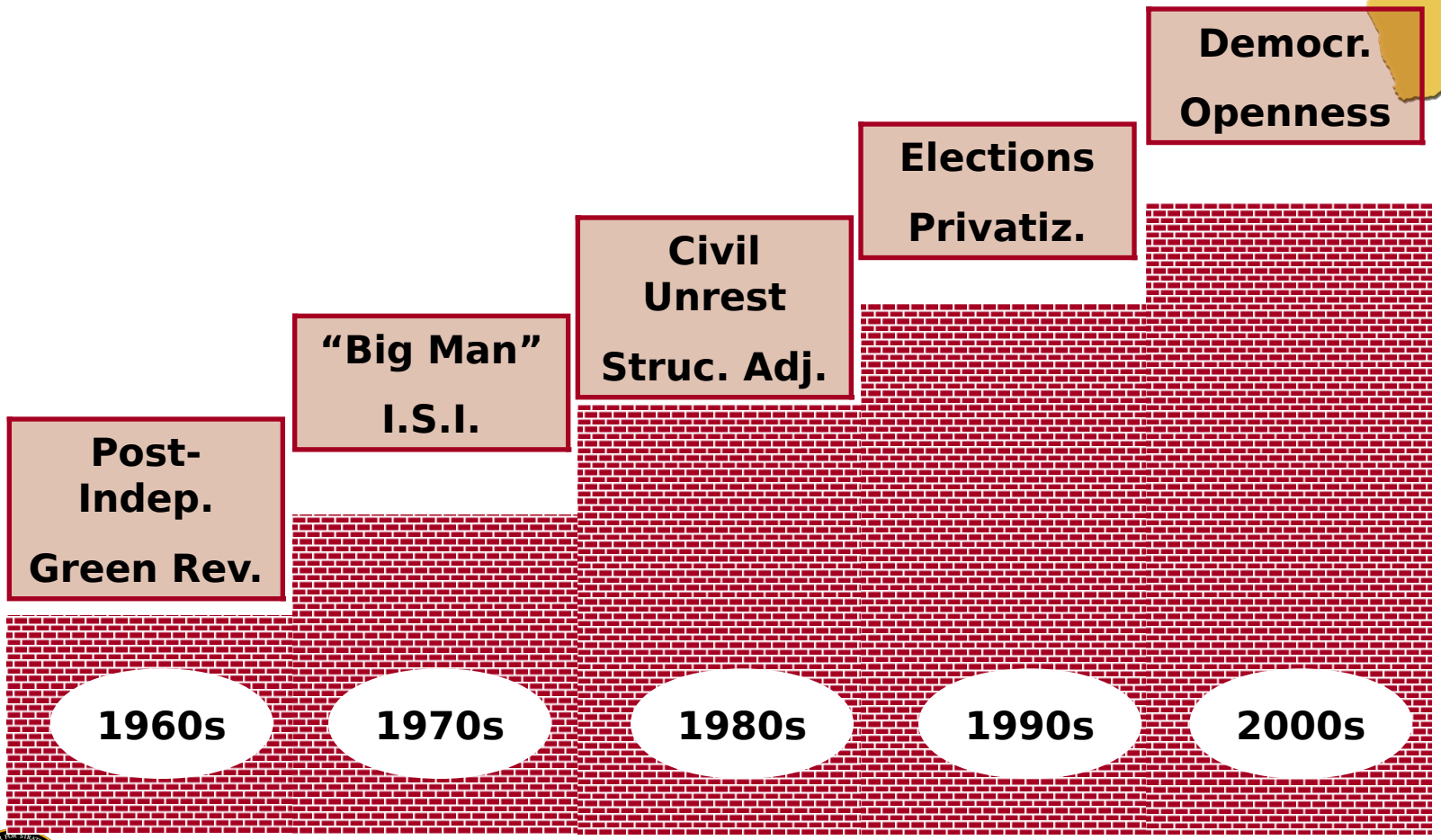
Overview

1. Defining Security in Africa
2. Some Collectively Reinforcing Challenges
3. Overview of Strategic Challenges
4. Why Should Marines be Interested?
5. Developing a Strategic Approach

Understanding Security in West and Central Africa

Political Economy Synopsis





Africa's Shifting Security Paradigm

Transition

- **STATE →REGIME→INDIVIDUAL**

Human Security

- **Broad Definition**
- **Narrow Definition**

Africa in the News

Armed Conflict

Displacement

Poverty

Africa in the News (contd.)

Weak Governance

Also, . . .

Corruption

Repression

Regression

Responses to Insecurity in Africa

Linear;

Ad Hoc;

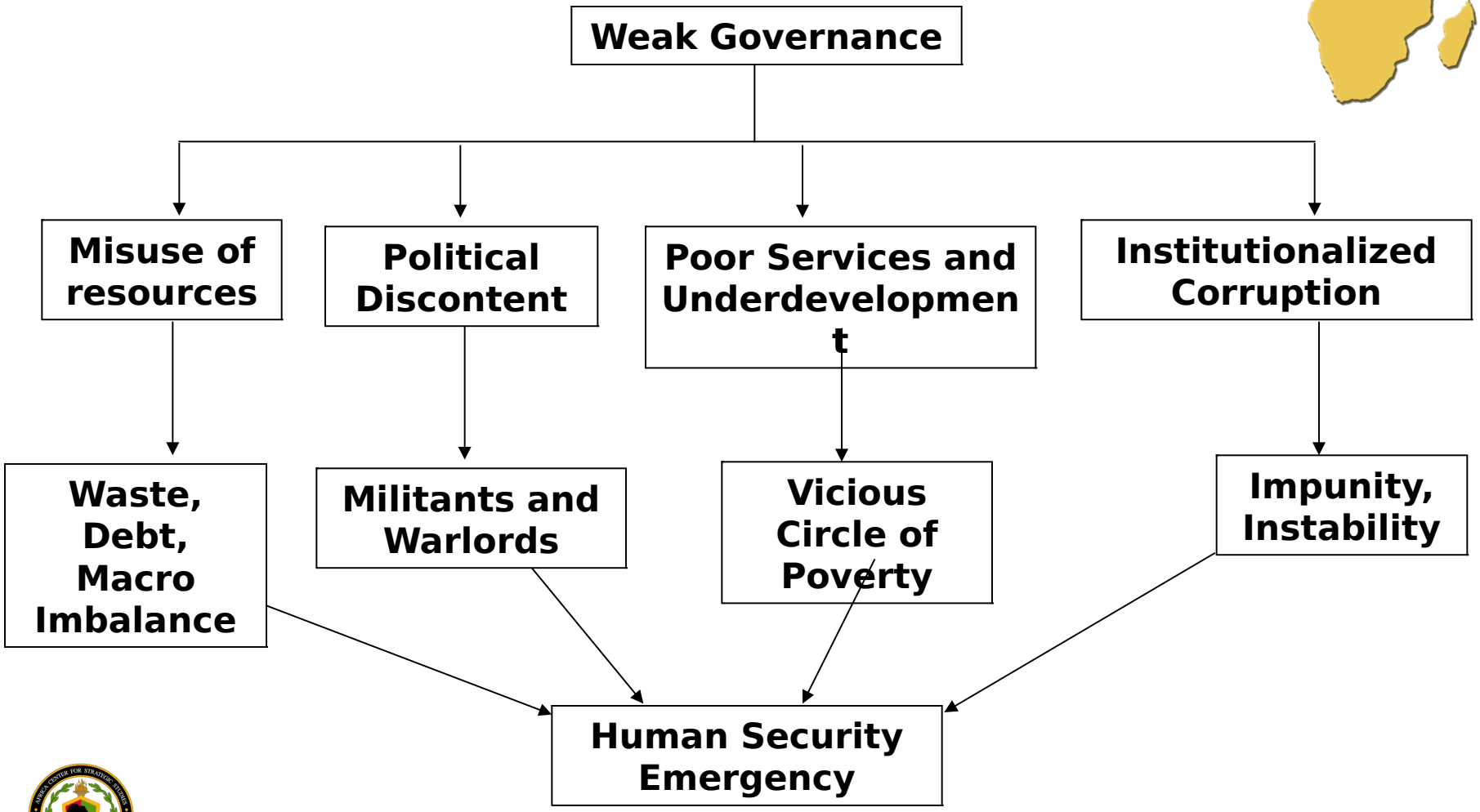
Short-Term;

Disjointed;

Weak Assumptions . . .

. . . and, therefore, Ineffective

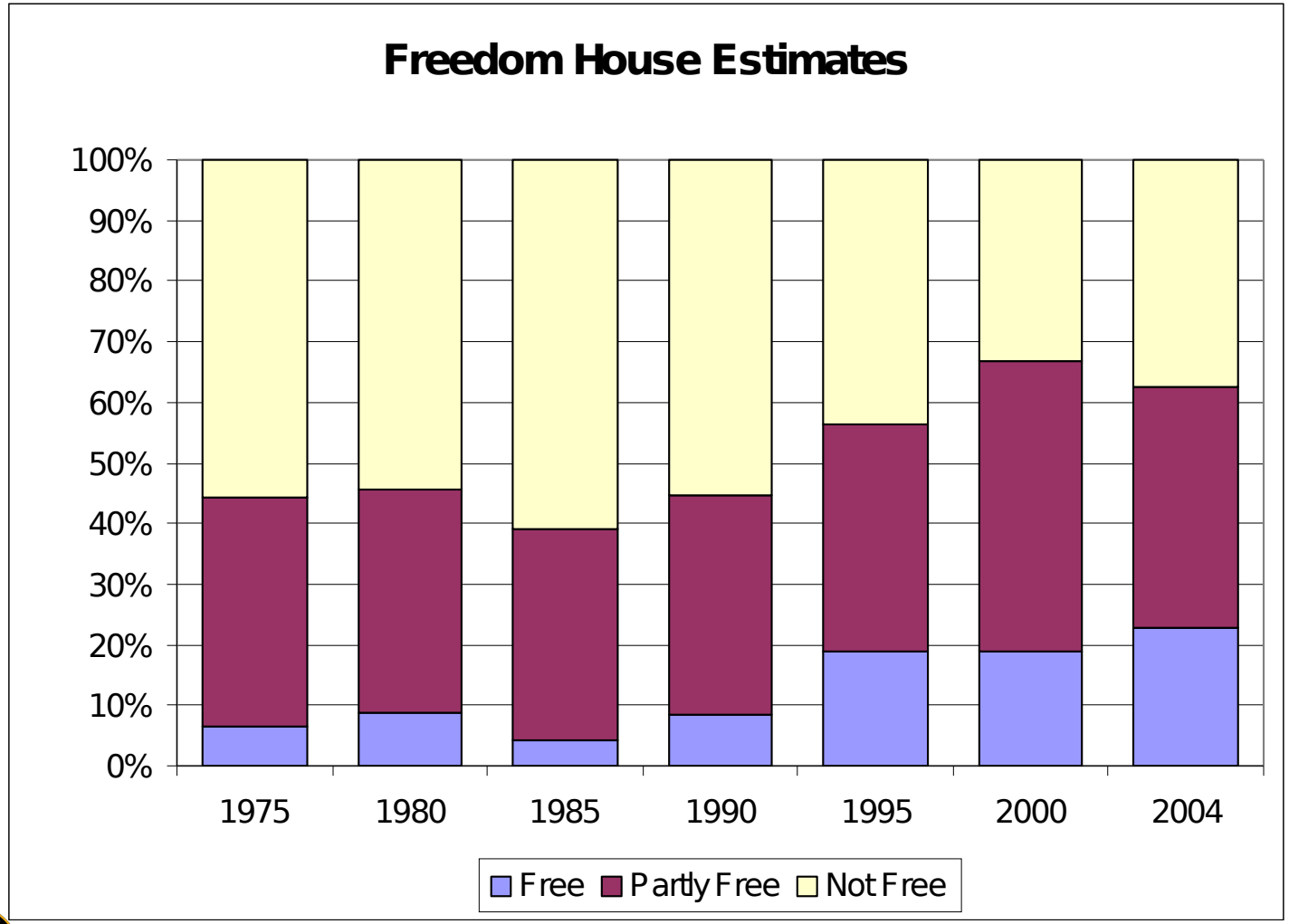
A Complex Evolution



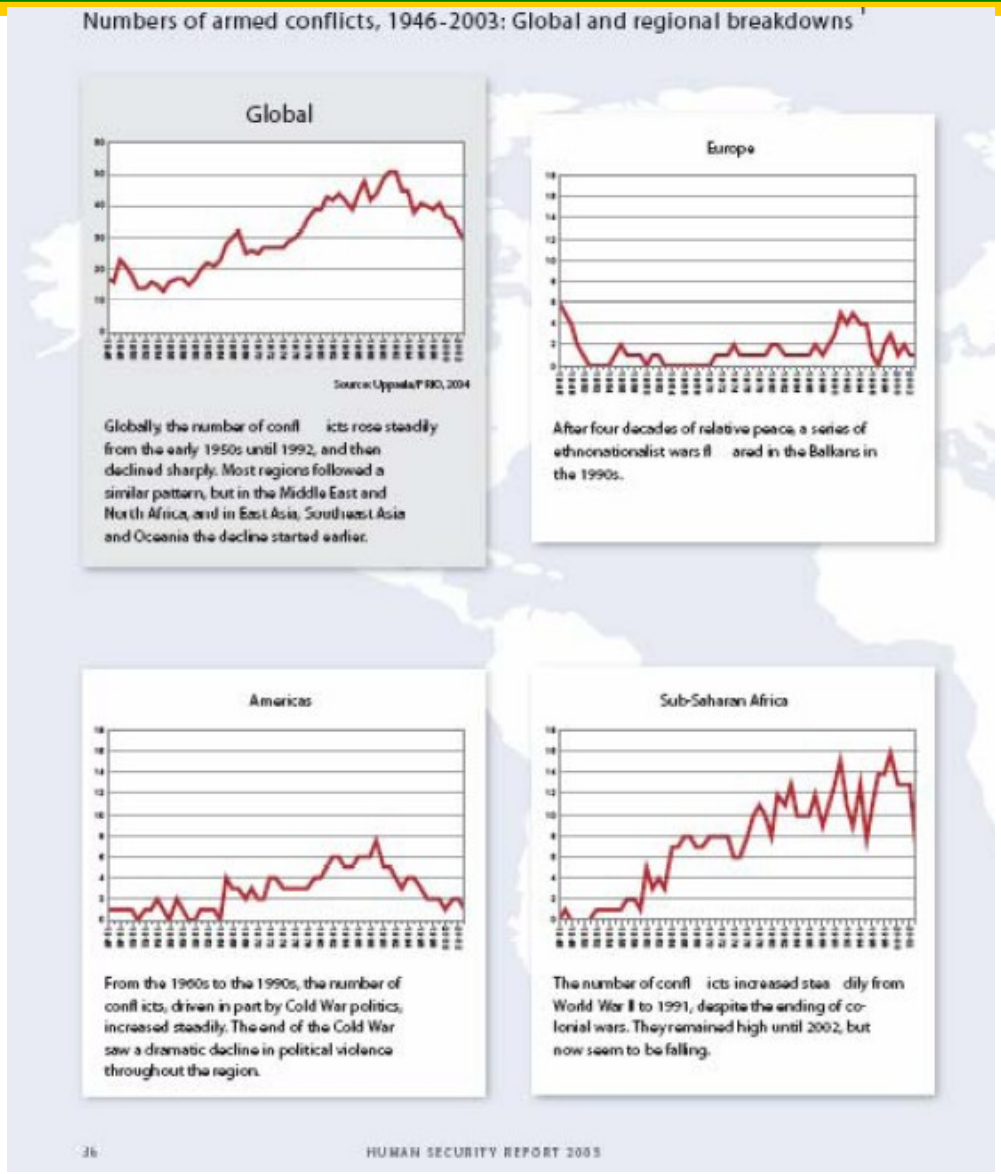
Overview of Security Challenges

- Governance/Democratization
- Armed Conflict
- Poverty/Economic Development
- Disease
- Law and Order
- Natural Disasters
- Exogenous Factors

Democratization



Conflict Trends


Numbers of armed conflicts, 1946-2003: Global and regional breakdowns
Global
Source: Uppsala/PRIO, 2004
Globally the number of conflicts rose steadily from the early 1950s until 1992, and then declined sharply. Most regions followed a similar pattern, but in the Middle East and North Africa, and in East Asia, Southeast Asia and Oceania the decline started earlier.
Europe
After four decades of relative peace, a series of ethnonationalist wars flared in the Balkans in the 1990s.
Americas
From the 1960s to the 1990s, the number of conflicts, driven in part by Cold War politics, increased steadily. The end of the Cold War saw a dramatic decline in political violence throughout the region.
Sub-Saharan Africa
The number of conflicts increased steadily from World War II to 1991, despite the ending of colonial wars. They remained high until 2002, but now seem to be falling.
36
HUMAN SECURITY REPORT 2005

Conflict Costs: Human Lives

Figure 4.1 Battle-deaths versus total war deaths in selected sub-Saharan African conflicts

country	years	estimates of total war deaths	battle deaths	battle-deaths as a percentage of total war deaths
Sudan (Anya Nya rebellion)	1963–73	250,000–750,000	20,000	3–8%
Nigeria (Biafra rebellion)	1967–70	500,000 to 2 million	75,000	4–15%
Angola	1975–2002	1.5 million	160,475	11%
Ethiopia (not inc. Eritrean insurgency)	1976–91	1–2 million	16,000	<2%
Mozambique	1976–92	500,000 to 1 million	145,400	15–29%
Somalia	1981–96	250,000 to 350,000 (to mid-1990s)	66,750	19–27%
Sudan	1983–2002	2 million	55,000	3%
Liberia	1989–96	150,000–200,000	23,500	12–16%
Democratic Republic of the Congo	1998–2001	2.5 million	145,000	6%

Source: Lacina and Gleditsch, 2004[4]

The indirect impact of war in sub-Saharan Africa is revealed by the comparison of battle-deaths with estimates of war deaths from all causes—primarily disease and malnutrition.

From: 2005 Human Security Report

Conflict Costs: Lost Revenue

Combatant	Resource	Period	Estimated revenue
UNITA (Angola)	**diamonds**	**1992-2001**	**$4,000 million total**
RUF (Sierra Leone)	**diamonds**	**1990s**	**$25 - 125 mill./year**
Charles Taylor (Liberia)	**timber**	**Late 1990s**	**$100 - 187 mill./year**
Government of Sudan	**oil**	**Since 1999**	**$400 million/year**
Government of Rwanda	**coltan**	**1999-2000**	**$250 million total**

From: Wars for Africa's Wealth, 2004

Current Economic Situation

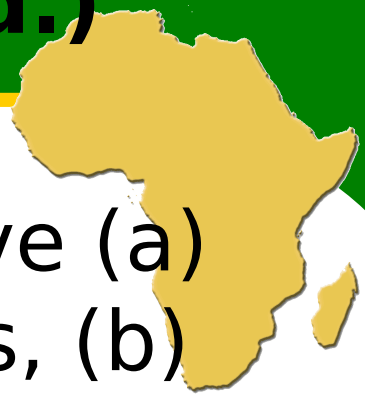
African Countries Highly Unlikely to Meet Internationally-Accepted 2015 Millennium Development Goals

Since 1990 . . .

- Poverty worsened;
- Social indicators stagnant;
- HIV/AIDS mixed results

www.developmentgoals.org

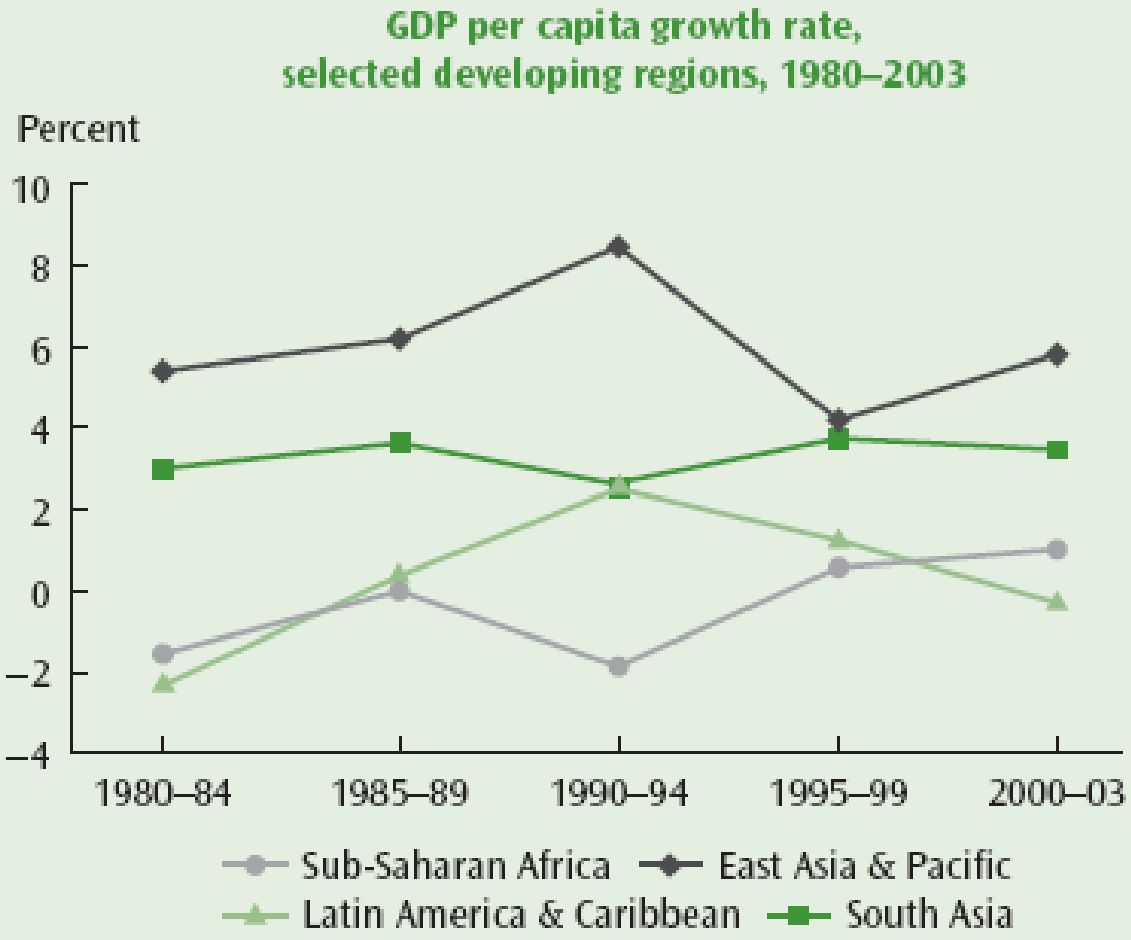
Current Situation (contd.)



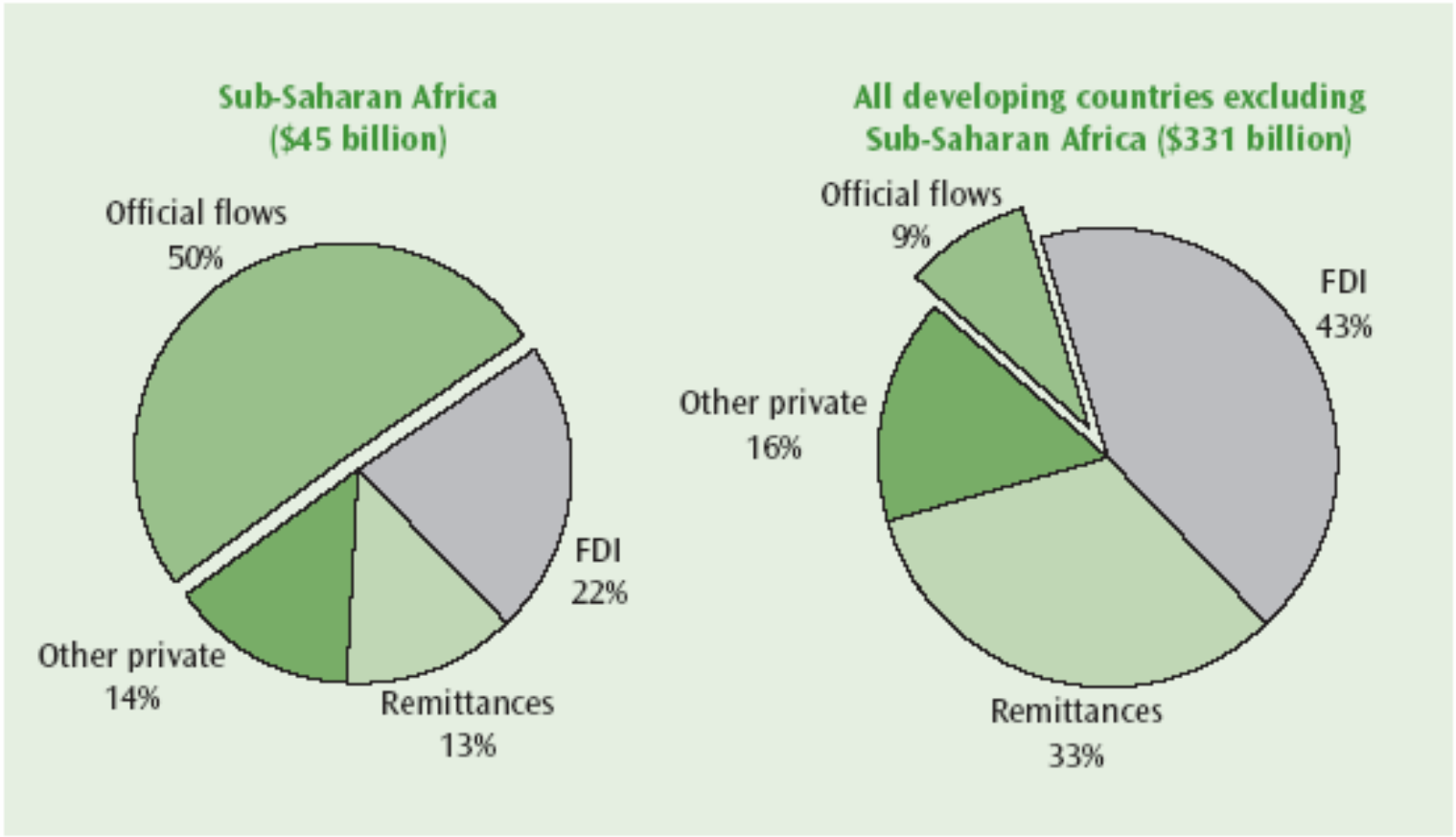
However, many countries have (a) taken the right policy steps, (b) agreed upon institutional reform agenda and (c) expressed commitment to good governance.

- *Most are sustaining real positive growth rates.*
- *The weakest performers (with negative growth rates) are conflict affected.*
- *6% anticipated in 2005.*

Per Capita Growth Rates



Over Dependence on ODA



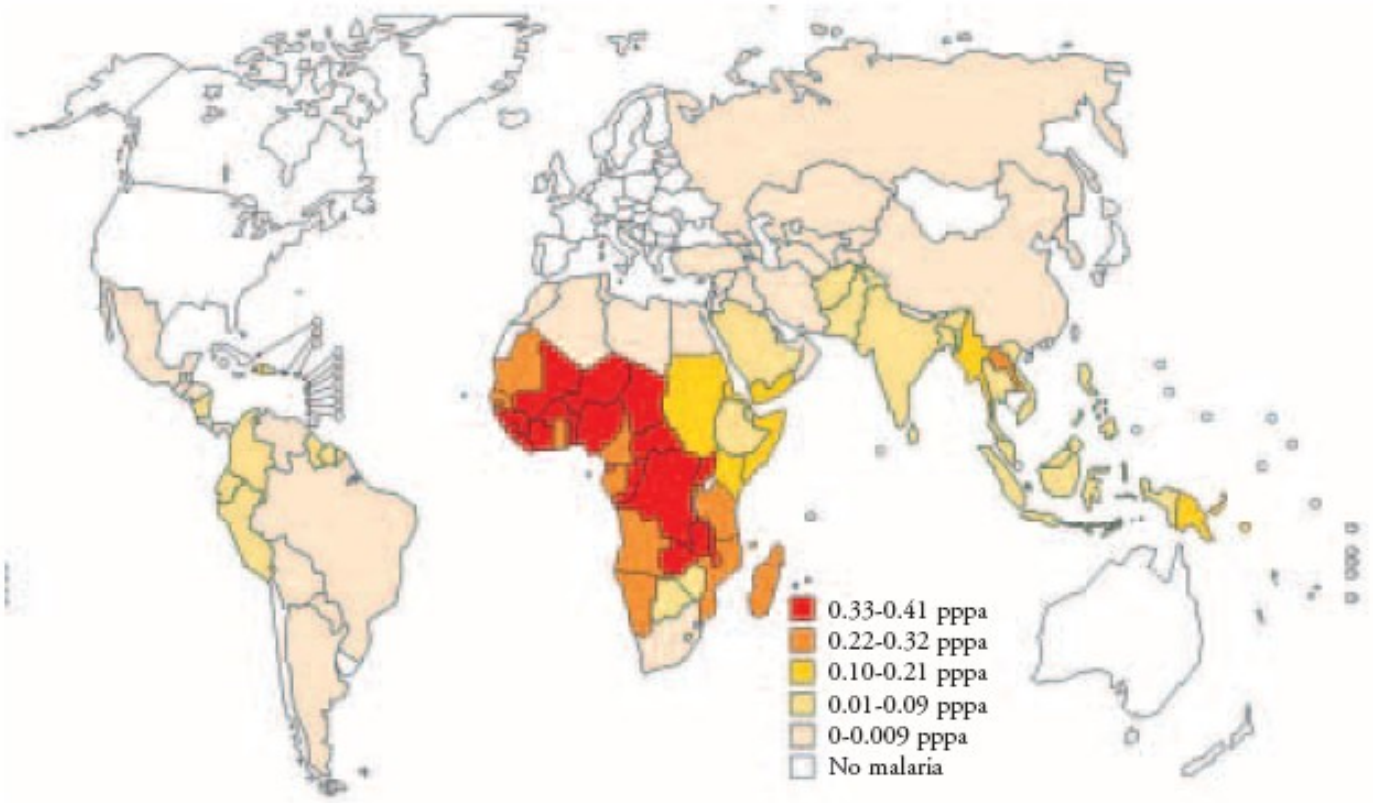
Over Dependence on Single Commodity

Many Countries Depend Heavily on Commod s

	Share of Exports	*Share of GDP*	*Major Commodity*
Zambia	99.8%	23.4%	Copper
Mauritania	99.5%	39.4%	Iron Ore
Guinea Bissau	97.7%	23.7%	Cashew Nut
Benin	93.7%	16.1%	Cotton
Uganda	90.5%	11.1%	Coffee

Disease: Malaria

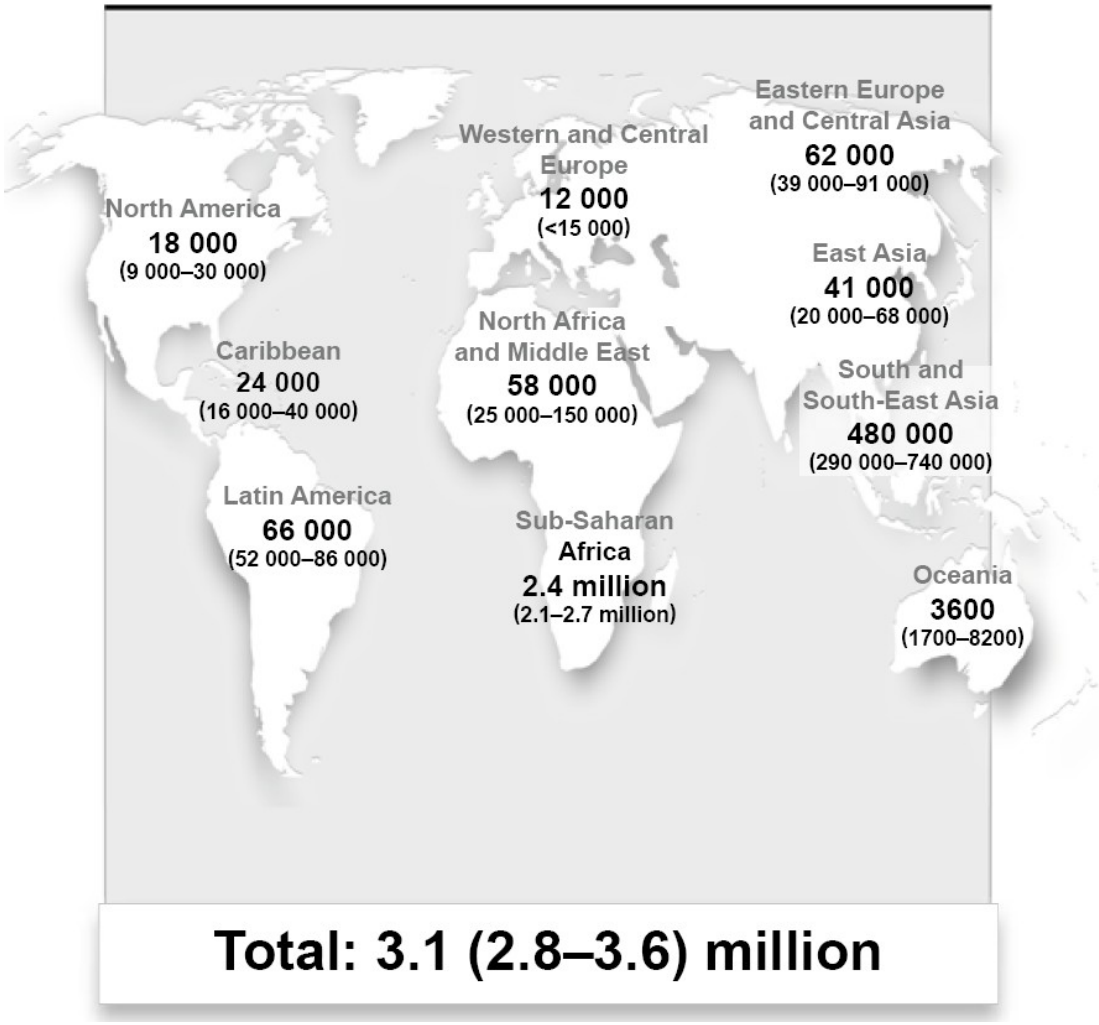
ESTIMATED INCIDENCE OF FALCIPARUM MALARIA



The designation employed and the presentation of material on this map do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of the World Health Organization concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries. Dashed lines represent approximate border lines for which there may not yet be full agreement.

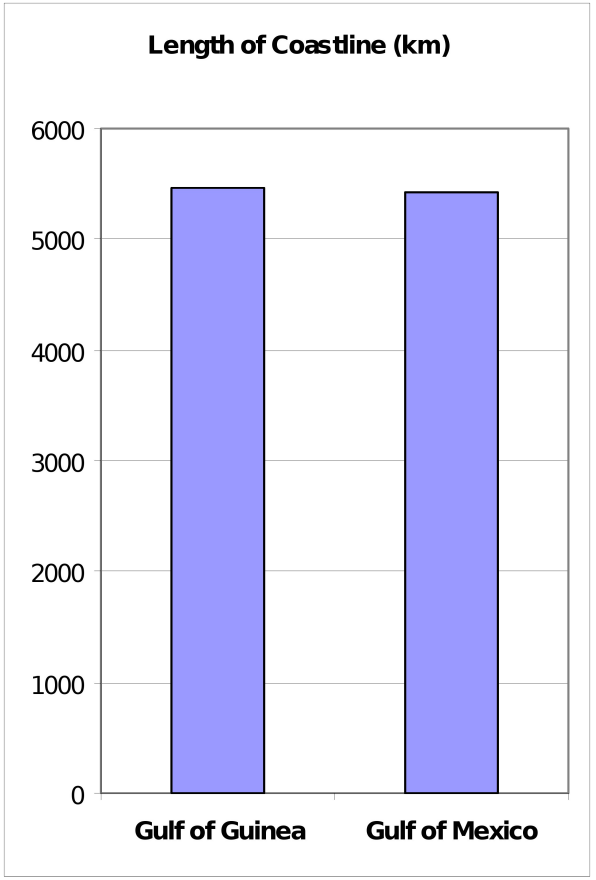
Disease: HIV/AIDS

ESTIMATED ADULT AND CHILD DEATHS FROM AIDS DURING 2005



Two Overlooked and Poorly Understood Security Challenges

Maritime Security: Gulf of Guinea



Maritime Security: Law and Order

Nigeria: Oil Loss Accounting

Estimated Losses

75,000 bpd (2005 Chevron est.)

@ $40/barrel =

$3 mn/day or $1.1 bn/yr

Estimated Gross Profit

27.4 million barrels per year

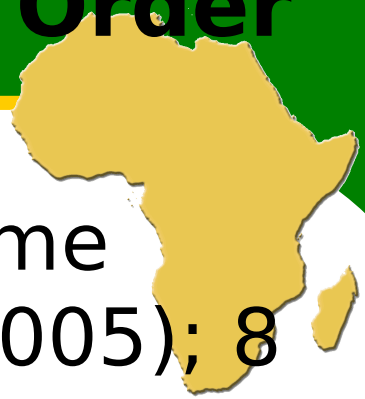
@ $15-25/barrel =

$410-685 million per year

Costs to Criminal Groups

- **Purchase and running barges**
- **Hiring and equipping crews/security**
- **Bribery of politicians and security**
- **Transshipment to market**

Maritime Security: Law and Order



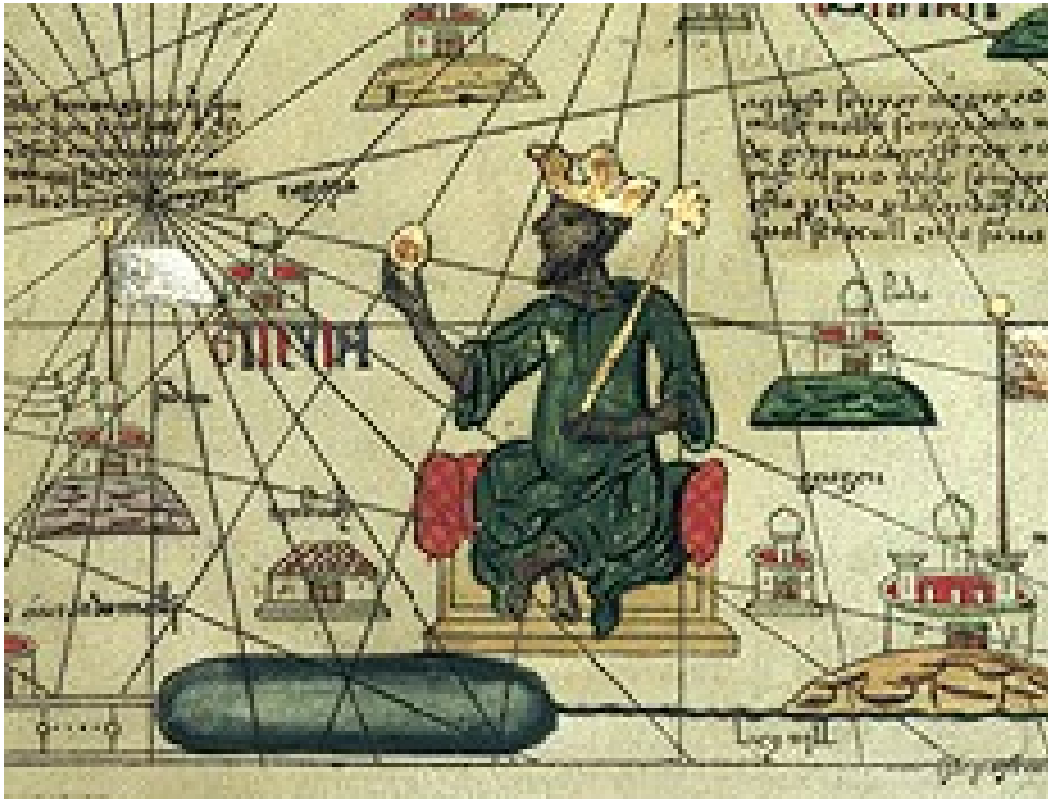
- According to the UK-based Maritime Resources Advisory Group (July 2005); 8 studies African countries lose $370 million annually from illegal, unreported and unregulated (IUU) fishing.
- In 2004, Spanish authorities intercepted some trawlers with some 20 tons of high-grade Colombian cocaine. The "New Drug Triangle" – Cape Verde; Canary Islands; Madeira. Links identified with Gulf of Guinea.

Understanding Terrorism in Sub-Region

Some Threats and Vulnerabilities

- Religious Extremism
- Porous Borders
- Ungoverned Spaces
- Politics of Exclusion
- Regional vs Global Responses
- Poverty, Unemployment and Discontent

Instrumentalization of Radical Islam



Spanish map (circa 1375), showing the King Mansa Musa of Mali holding a gold nugget.

Critical Counterterrorism Issues

- **Direct Action Against Terrorists**
  - Addressing “force multipliers”; good intelligence.
- **Building Capacity Among Allies**
  - Trans-Sahara Initiative; law enforcement agencies
- **Countering Ideologies and Building Public Support**
  - ***Tabliq*** groups; public awareness
- **Peace-Building, Democratization and Development**
  - Comprehensive and coordinated

Why Should the Marine Corps be Interested?

Why Should Marines be Interested?

- National Security Strategy (***Sept. 2002, p. 10***)

Insecurity in Africa . . . "threatens both the core value of the U.S. --- preserving human dignity, and our strategic priority --- combating global terror."

Why Should Marines be Interested?

- National Security Strategy

- National Strategy for Combating Terrorism (***Feb. 2003, p. 20***)

The U.S. will assist committed states that "lack the capacity to fulfill their sovereign responsibilities."

Why Should Marines be Interested?

- National Security Strategy
- National Strategy for Combating Terrorism
- National Intelligence Strategy (***Oct. 2005, p. 8***)

The "lack of freedom in one state endangers freedom in others . . . . . Failed states are refuge and breeding ground of extremism."

Why Should Marines be Interested?

- National Security Strategy
- National Strategy for Combating Terrorism
- National Intelligence Strategy
- National Strategy for Maritime Security (***Sept. 2005, p. 12***)

The U.S. will "assist regional partners to maintain maritime sovereignty . . . . and to combat unlawful and hostile exploitation" of their maritime resources.

Why Should Marines be Interested?

- National Security Strategy
- National Strategy for Combating Terrorism
- National Intelligence Strategy
- National Strategy for Maritime Security
- National Defense Strategy (***March 2005, p. 4, 15***)

"Dangerous circumstances arise when we face complex challenges. GPOI . . . Will increase our partners' capabilities and their ability to operate together with U.S. forces."

Adopting A Strategic Approach

- Understanding Issues and Linkages
- Leveraging Sustained Support
- Identifying Viable Entry Points
- Institutions vs Individuals
- Bolstering Regional Synergies
- Measurable Outputs and Realistic Outcomes

Questions?